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Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-20 IGA-02 EB-11 AGR-20 INR-11

DODE-00 COME-00 FDRE-00 SWF-02 SSO-00 INRE-00 IO-14

OMB-01 SP-03 SCI-06 PC-10 USIE-00 INT-08 RSC-01 DRC-01

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O R 161045Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8277
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NDJAMENA 1907

AA/AFR FOR ADAMS

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: EAID, PFOR, CD, XA
SUBJECT: PROBLEMS OF HELPING CHAD

REF: STATE 151361

1. FRUSTRATION EXPRESSED REFTEL IS UNDERSTANDABLE. CHAD'S INADEQUACIES AND -- FOR U.S. -- DISTORTED PRIORITIES MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR ALL OF US TO WORK IN AND WITH THE COUNTRY. PROBLEM HAS TWO INSEPARABLE ELEMENTS. FIRST, TOMBALBAYE'S AND CHAD'S SCALE OF PRIORITIES IS NOT AT ALL LIKE OURS AND, SECOND, THERE IS AN ABYSMAL LACK OF ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS TO DEAL WITH THE DROUGHT CATASTROPHE. GOC SHORTCOMINGS STARTED WITH EARLY FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE NEED FOR COORDINATED AND RATIONALIZED APPROACH TO PROBLEM AND NOW INCLUDE A LONG DISHEARTENING LIST, NAMELY: (1) EXPULSION OF FAO FRENCH NATIONAL YYS PAGES LAST YEAR, ALTHOUGH HE WAS ONLY EFFECTIVE COORDINATING MECHANISM IN CHAD (2) FAILURE TO BRING CTT UNDER
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CONTROL AND TENDENCY TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS REGARDLESS OF

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CONSEQUENCES FOR DROUGHT RELIEF; (3) INABILITY TO GET URGENTLY NEEDED RELIEF SHIPMENTS THROUGH CUSTOMS WITHOUT MONTHS OF DELAY; (4) INABILITY TO USE FED, FAC AND OUR OWN CREDITS PROMPTLY -- OR AT ALL JZ (5) FAILURE TO RELATE PRESIDENCY'S DEAL FOR 100 FIAT TRUCKS TO DROUGHT RELIEF; (6) FULL BREAK WITH FRG ON EVE OF LATTER'S PROVISION OF TWO TRANSALS FOR RELIEF; (7) FOOLISH DELAY -- SINCE MAY -- IN ACCEPTING FRENCH OFFER OF 12 MILITARY TRUCKS, WITH DRIVERS, MAINTENANCE AND ALL OPERATING COSTS WHILE HAGGLING OVER ONE SMALL ELEMENT OF TAX EXONERATION FOR GASOLINE; (8) REPATRIATION OF TWO LICROSS REPS; AND, ABOVE ALL (9) CONTINUING UNWILLINGNET OR INABILITY TO ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE STRUCTURE TO DEAL WITH DROUGHT.

2. VIRTUALLY ALL THESE FAILURES HAVE STEMMED, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S OWN CONCEPT OF CHAD'S NATIONAL PRIORITIES. DURING DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR WILLIAMS' VISIT IN AUGUST 1973 PRESIDENT CANDIDLY STATED THAT HIS FIRST PRIORITY WAS THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND HIS FORMATION OF THE MNRCS. DROUGHT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES HAD TO COME AFTER. DURING RECENT DEBATES IN ECOLE DES CADRES PRESIDENT AND HIGH OFFICIALS SEVERAL TIMES EXPRESSED THEME THAT MAN CANNOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE AND DID SO IN SPECIFIC CONTEXT OF DISCUSSIONS ON RELATIVE PRIORITY OF DROUGHT RELIEF AND POLITICAL MILITANTISM. WHEN EX-MINISTER ADOUM AGANAYE WAS BROUGHT BEFORE MNRCS IN PUBLIC MEETING TO ANSWER CHARGES OF POLITICAL SCHEMING AND EXPRESSED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT THAT CHADIAN LEADERS WERE WASTING TIME ON ANCIENT HISTORICAL MATTERS SUCH AS HIS ROLE IN THE 1946 INTRODUCTION OF GABRIEL LISETTE INTO THE PPT INSTEAD OF CONCENTRATING ON THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF THE DROUGHT IN CHAD, THE ANSWER WAS RESOUNDINGLY GIVEN BY THE LATEST AND FASTEST RISING MNRCS POLITICAL STAR, NDJAMENA MAYOR MAHAMAT DJERMA: RAISING THE ISSUE OF THE DROUGHT WAS BUT AN ATTEMPT TO DRAW A RED HERRING ACROSS THE TRAIL OF THE REAL ISSUES. CHAD'S PRIORITIES WERE FOR THE POLITCAL EDUCATION OF ITS YOUTH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CHADIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS. THE MNRCS WOULD REJECT ANY ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH PROBLEMS OF THE DROUGHT AS PRIMORDIAL.

3. PRESIDENT TOMBALBAYE HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO ALL CHADIAN POLITICAL LEADERS THAT HIS CAMPAIGN FOR AUTHENTICITY AND HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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RETURN TO TRIBAL SOURCES TO RE-PERSONALIZE THE CHADIAN WHOM COLONIALIZATION HAD ALIENATED AND DISORIENTATED, STILL HAVE TOP PRIORITY. THUS THE SECOND WAVE OF CHADIANS IS NOW DEPARTING FOR TRIBAL INITIATION CEREMONIES WHICH WILL REMOVE MANY KEY FUNCTIONARIES AND EMPLOYEES FROM THE MODERN LIFE OF CHAD FOR AS MUCH AS TWO MONTHS. BANKS AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES ARE LOSING MIDDLE LEVEL EMPLOYES TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THEIR OPERATIONS ARE BEING CRIPPLED. EVERY DAY WE ARE LEARNING

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ADDITIONAL NAMES OF THOSE REQUIRED TO PARTICIPATE IN YONDOH THIS YEAR. SOME OF THEM ARE THE ONLY PERSONS WHO CAN MOVE IMPORTANT DROUGHT RELATED PROGRAMS ALONG. THE PRESIDENT IS INTENT ON REMAKING THE CHADIAN AND IN THIS NEAR-OBSESSION HAS PLACED HIMSELF ALMOST BEYOND THE REACH OF CRITICAL COMMENTS ESPECIALLY FROM ADVISORS, COLLABORATORS AND FRIENDS. HIGH LEVEL GOC OFFICIALS ARE FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT JUDGES THEM AND REWARDS OR PUNISHES THEM ON THE BASIS OF THEIR PERFORMANCE IN THE AUTHENTICITY CONTEXT. NATURALLYTHEY KNOW HOW THEY MUST ESTABLISH THEIR OWN PRIORITIES AND THOSE OF THEIR MINISTRIES AND OFFICES.

4. FROM OUR STRATEGIC VANTAGE POINT IN NDJAMENA, IN HAVING DEALT AT A DISTANCE WITH WASHINGTON AND SOMETIMES MORE CLOSELY THROUGH MISSIONS, DELEGATIONS AND VISITORS, WE HAVE NOTED THREE STAGES IN THE ATTITUDES WE ENCOUNTER. FIRST THERE SEEMS TO BE ACONVICTION THAT WITH PROPER ORGANIZATION, THE RIGHT KIND OF APPROACH, ENOUGH RESOURCES, A LITTLE IMMAGINATION, MORE CAN BE DONE FOR CHAD. EXPERT U.S. ADVICE AND COUNSEL ARE ALWAYS AVAILABLE AND THERE IS AN ALMOST UNLIMITED POOL OF RESOURCES WITH WHICH TO INDUCE OR BRIBE CHAD TO PERFORM THE WAY IT SHOULD. AN IMMERSION INTO THE LOCAL SCENE ALMOST ALWAYS PRODUCES A REACTION: CHAD IS HOPELESS AND REALLY NOTHING CAN BE DONE. THE LIST OF DEFICIENCIES IN PARA ONE IS ONLY INDICATIVE, NOT DEFINITIVE, AND A SHORT TIME ON THE GROUND IN NDJAMENA SHOWS THAT THE LIST RUNS ALL THE WAY TO THE HORIZON. THE FEELING OF HOPELESSNESS THAT FOLLOWS SOMETIMES MAKES FOR RECOMMENDATIONS THAT WE SET OUR CONDITIONS FOR ASSISTANCE AND IF CHAD FAILS TO PERFORM WE WASH OUR HANDS OF FURTHER RESPONSIBILITY.
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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AID-20 IGA-02 EB-11 AGR-20 INR-11

DODE-00 COME-00 FDRE-00 SWF-02 SSO-00 INRE-00 IO-14

OMB-01 SP-03 SCI-06 PC-10 USIE-00 INT-08 RSC-01 DRC-01

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O R 161045Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8278
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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5. HOWEVER, THERE IS A THIRD STAGE IN MAKING CHAD'S ACQUAINTANCE AND IT HAS GUIDED U.S. AID ADEQUATELY UNTIL NOW: ACCEPT CHAD AS IT IS AND GIVE AID IN FORMS IN WHICH IT CAN BE ACCEPTED AND USED. WE HAVE HAD TO ACCEPT CHAD'S SET OF VALUES AND ITS CAPABILITIES ALL ALONG AND HAVE MODIFIED OUR CONDITIONS TO SUIT. WE CAN CONTINUE TO PRESS DJONOUMA TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO DONORS, TO COORDINATE HIS REQUESTS TO THEM AND TO KEEP HIMSELF INFORMED OF CRISIS SITUATIONS AS THEY ARISE, AND WE CAN CONTINUE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE CTT AND EVEN ON THE PRESIDENCY BY USING THE LEVERAGE OF OUR AID, JUST AS WE DID LAST YEAR IN OBTAINING A RATE REDUCTION AND MORE RECENTLY, WITH OTHER DONORS, IN OBTAINING AUTHORIZATION FOR NIGERIAN TRUCKS TO BRING GRAIN TO NDJAMENA. OUR PRESENT DIVERSION OF GRAIN TO NIGER HAS MADE BIG WAVES AND HAS BROUGHT THE GOC TO LAUNCH A REVISION OF ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CTT. WE WILL NOT, HOWEVER, DISTRACT THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS CAMPAIGN FOR AUTHENTICITY FOR MORE THAN A FEW MOMENTS AT A TIME AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE DIFFICULTY KEEPING THE ATTENTION OF KEY MINISTERS ON THE DROUGHT SITUATION. THINGS WE CANDO ARE: (1) CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE HEAVY
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TONNAGES OF SORGHUM THAT HAVE BEEN THE MAINSTAY OF THE AFFECTED POPULATIONS, (2) PROVIDE A MODEST AIRLIFT WHENEVER REQUESTED, (3) KEEP ENRICHED PRODUCTS FLOWING TO WFP AND UNICEF, (4) SUPPORT CARE IN ITS ENTIRE PROGRAM, (5) CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR PROGRESS ON THE R&R PROJECTS, (6) GET INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE LAKE CHAD AREA, (7) KEEP RIGHT ON GOADING THE GOC AT ALL LEVELS TO KEEP ITSELF INFORMED OF THE SITUATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND TO TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTION, AND (8) PRAY FOR RAIN.

6. AS FOR INVITING MOBUTU TO INTERCEDE WITH TOMBALBAYE FOR MORE ATTENTION TO THE PLIGHT OF HIS PEOPLE, IT WAS AFTER ALL MOBUTU WHO LED TOMBALBAYE TOWARD AUTHENTICITY. THE CHADIAN MOVEMENT IS STILL PATTERNED ON THE MPR AND EXCEPT FOR THE RETURN TO TRIBAL RITES IS ALMOST IDENTICAL. A MORE PROMISING PERSON MIGHT BE AKTAR OULD DADDAH, BUT BECAUSE WE SEE THE PROBLEM AS A CONFLICT BETWEEN U.S. AND CHADIZ VALUES AND PRIORITIES WE ARE LESS INCLINED THAN IS THE DEPARTMENT TO RECOMMEND ANY

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